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Strengthening governance processes to improve benefit-sharing from tourism in protected areas by using stakeholder analysis

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ABSTRACT

In tourism, the concept of “benefit-sharing” refers to the idea that the benefits arising from tourism should be distributed across a wide range of stakeholders. We argue that the development of synergetic interactions between stakeholders involved in governance processes is a prerequisite for effective benefit-sharing from tourism in protected areas. Our stakeholder analysis of the actors with an interest in the island of Terschelling in the northern Netherlands revealed how relationships between stakeholders enable and/or constrain the sharing of benefits from tourism. Our analysis helped to understand the governance arrangements pertaining to the management of tourism in protected areas. We ascertained that the national forest management agency (*Staatsbosbeheer*), a large landowner on the island, is highly influential, but nevertheless often found it difficult to gain local support for its activities. The local government was also an important stakeholder, but was considered to sometimes constrain the development of tourism and thus limit the potential for benefit-sharing. Effective communication, good collaboration with stakeholders, and an attitude of openness were identified as being important preconditions for developing synergistic interactions between stakeholders.

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Protected area management; good governance; nature protection; sustainable tourism; resilience; social sustainability

Introduction

We consider that “benefit-sharing” in the context of tourism in protected areas refers to the idea that the benefits arising from tourism should be shared amongst a wide range of stakeholders, and especially with local communities (Foxlee, 2007). Despite widespread use of the term, benefit-sharing (Söderholm & Svahn, 2015; Vanclay, 2017; Wang, 2012), there is no well-established definition (Swemmer, Grant, Anneck, & Freitag-Ronaldson, 2015). However, in the context of protected areas, benefit-sharing can be defined as being “the process of making informed and fair trade-offs between social, economic and ecological costs and benefits within and between stakeholder groups, and between stakeholders and the natural environment, in a way that is satisfactory to most parties” (Swemmer et al., 2015, p.7).

In this paper, we move beyond “trade-offs” to argue that “synergies” can be an important precursor to achieve effective benefit-sharing from tourism in protected areas. Developing synergies can be described as facilitating the interactions between actors to achieve greater combined outcomes across the social and ecological domains (Persha, Agrawal, & Chhatre, 2011). For example, this could mean that tourism development and nature protection should not be considered as being in conflict, but rather as goals that can be balanced to create win-win situations and be mutually supportive.

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Acknowledging synergetic tourism–landscape interactions is important because tourism generates income and job opportunities that rely on the landscape, although simultaneously tourism impacts on the surrounding landscape (Buckley, 2012; Saarinen, 2006) and the community (King, Pizam, & Milman, 1993; McCombes, Vanclay, & Evers, 2015; Snyman, 2015). Tourism is also an opportunity for nature protection, because tourism plays a role in creating awareness, public support and in generating funding for nature protection (Libosada, 2009; McCool & Spenceley, 2014). To achieve both nature protection and socio-economic development, we consider it is important that the synergetic interactions between tourism and protected areas be recognized and stimulated. In other words, instead of fair trade-offs in a zero-sum game, combining both objectives can create synergetic effects, win-win-win outcomes, as well as enhancing benefit-sharing possibilities.

A problem, however, is that the potential synergies between tourism development and landscape protection (T&L) are often overlooked and underutilized (Hartman, 2015; Heslinga, Groote, & Vanclay, 2017). One way to identify synergies lies in the governance arrangements in managing T&L in coastal areas (Lockwood, 2010). This is because these governance arrangements affect the processes by which synergies are activated or inhibited. In this paper, we aim to improve the understanding of the governance processes that could help facilitate benefit-sharing arising from tourism in protected areas.

Surprisingly, governance as a conceptual frame has only had relatively limited use in the tourism literature (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). To make up for this, we explore governance from the perspective of social–ecological systems (SES) theory. SES theory is useful because it does not consider the social and the ecological as distinct separate entities, but instead as an integrated whole. Using a holistic approach helps in understanding the interactions between tourism and landscape protection in coastal areas (Heslinga et al., 2017). In this paper, we draw on an SES perspective to provide principles that contribute to a deeper understanding of how tourism–landscape interactions in coastal areas can be better managed.

To understand governance arrangements better, examining the relationships between the stakeholders can be helpful. We use stakeholder analysis because it can reveal the interests and influences of the different stakeholders, and determine whether their interactions are conflicting, complementary or cooperative (Reed et al., 2009). It is generally accepted that the use of real-life examples assists in demonstrating the usefulness of an approach (Wesley & Pforr, 2010). Therefore, we utilize the case of Terschelling, an island located in the Wadden Sea region, a UNESCO World Heritage site in the north of the Netherlands. The Wadden is renowned for its ecological qualities and highly valued landscapes. Due to its attractiveness, tourism is a significant activity, especially on the five main islands of the Dutch Wadden. On Terschelling, there are many stakeholder groups who are involved in decision-making processes related to tourism, each with their own varying interests. Our stakeholder analysis identified who these stakeholders were and helped understand the interactions between them.

Governance to facilitate benefit-sharing from tourism in protected areas

Despite the potential for synergetic tourism–landscape interactions in coastal areas, managing these interactions can be inherently complicated because many actors are involved in decision-making processes and these stakeholders usually have different and sometimes contradictory values, attitudes and interests. What an environmental stakeholder, for example, considers to be important in an area can be very different to what tourism promoters, developers, recreational users, or local residents consider to be important (Jamal, 2004). Given the complexity of the stakeholder interactions and the difficulties of managing their diverse interests, increasing attention has been given to managing tourism development processes (Luthe & Wyss, 2014; Wesley & Pforr, 2010). The concept of governance, for example, is a promising approach for managing synergies between tourism and landscape in coastal areas. This is because “governance” is a broader concept than “the government”, in that it also includes non-state actors, including business, community and civil society, notably the voluntary sector (Parra, 2010). Governance can be defined as “the complex system of regulation

involving the interactions of a wide variety of actors, institutions, the environment and all types of socio-institutional arrangements at different territorial levels” (Parra, 2010, p. 491).

Balancing the objectives of nature protection and socio-economic development, and thereby achieving long-term sustainability goals, requires organizational structures that are more decentralized than central governments tend to be, as well as effective linkages between the many stakeholders (Crona & Bodin, 2006; Imperiale & Vanclay, 2016; Plummer & Fennel, 2009; Reed et al., 2009; Strickland-Munro, Allison, & Moore, 2010). Central governments can be useful in assisting in the formation of groups and in providing support for collective action, but they sometimes interfere when there is a well-functioning civil society (Mehmood & Parra, 2013). Governance arrangements that accommodate inclusion and participation are desirable so that effective rules, institutions and incentives can be developed to influence the management of tourism–landscape interactions in a complex and uncertain world (Armitage et al., 2009).

The interest in governance as a concept has increased significantly in the social sciences over the last few decades (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Kooiman, 2003; Wray, 2015). Nevertheless, despite the potential of governance to provide insights regarding the management of tourism–landscape interactions, its usage in the tourism literature is limited. Bramwell and Lane (2011) claim that the term “governance” has been used less frequently than related terms – e.g. tourism politics, policy, policy-making, planning, or destination management. When Bramwell and Lane (2011) wrote their article, only a few scholars working on governance in relation to tourism were influential (Eagles, 2009; Hall, 2011; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2011; Wesley & Pforr, 2010). Since then, usage of governance in relation to tourism has increased considerably (Halkier, 2014; Sharpley & Ussi, 2014; Wray, 2015).

The concept of governance has been discussed at some length in other bodies of literature, notably in SES theory (Brondizio, Ostrom, & Young, 2009). Therefore, to enrich the tourism literature, we connect with SES theory. We believe that an SES perspective can be useful to understand tourism–landscape interactions in coastal areas (Heslinga et al., 2017). This is because such a perspective sees tourism and landscape as part of an integrated social and ecological system. Additionally, an SES perspective helps to understand T&L as part of a complex SES that is continually adapting to changing circumstances (Strickland-Munro et al., 2010).

For the management of tourism destinations to address the twin goals of nature conservation and socio-economic regional development, it is important to understand how SESs are governed and to consider the roles institutions can, do and could play (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). SES thinking provides principles for the way tourism–landscape interactions should be governed. In our previous work (Heslinga et al., 2017), we identified three principles – inclusiveness, more flexible social arrangements, and multi-scalarity – which we use as an organizing structure for this paper. These principles are explained below.

Inclusiveness is a principle around the ideas that all actors have a right to be involved in the decision-making process, that they should be given every opportunity to be involved, and that no actors are excluded (Lockwood, 2010). However, the relevant actors and stakeholders involved in the governance of T&L are often diverse and have varied interests and priorities (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Jamal & Stronza, 2009). Additionally, the interactions between tourism and landscape span numerous policy domains. These characteristics make effective decision-making complex. Including all the different interests fairly, and avoiding the marginalization of any group, can help to prevent conflict among stakeholders (Prenzel & Vanclay, 2014). Conflict may arise in the governance of tourism–landscape interactions because each group is likely to pursue their preferred policy outcomes (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). Avoiding conflict is crucial, because it can impact on economic, ecological and socio-cultural well-being (Jamal & Stronza, 2009).

Another principle of good governance is flexible social arrangements. Governance includes more actors than just the central government. Although centralized government bodies can be helpful in building support for collective action (Olsson, Folke, & Hahn, 2004; Prell, Hubacek, & Reed, 2009), a central government is often limited in its ability to respond to rapid social-ecological change or to cope with uncertainty (Armitage et al., 2009). We believe that governance arrangements in which

flexibility is taken into account can be helpful in developing more effective ways of managing tourism–landscape interactions in a dynamic world. An adaptive approach that is flexible enough to deal with future social and ecological changes can assist in enabling progressive learning at individual, community, institutional, and policy levels (Plummer & Armitage, 2007).

Multi-scalarity implies that the governance processes of T&L do not only take place at one single level (or scale), but are also influenced from multiple scales (Adger et al., 2003; Berkes, 2007; Brondizio et al., 2009; Folke, Hahn, Olsson, & Norberg, 2005; Lew, 2014; Liu et al., 2007). The difficulties of managing T&L include discrepancies between socio-economic activities occurring at the local scale and nature protection initiatives imposed from higher scales. Paloniemi and Tikka (2008) noted, for example, that nature protection has been prescribed and stipulated in international and national laws and procedures regulated by the public sector. However, they also observed that the issues and relationships surrounding nature protection play out in various ways at the local level. The everyday lives of local people are affected by their social positions, cultural activities and cultural heritage (Vanclay, 2012). For the management of tourism–landscape interactions, this could mean a mismatch between the regulations for nature protection and those for the socio-economic activities of tourism entrepreneurs (Paloniemi & Tikka, 2008). Acknowledging these multi-scalar tourism–landscape interactions can help to understand the difficulties in managing them better.

Despite the interesting insights SES theory provides for understanding the governance of tourism–landscape interactions in coastal areas, there is a need for more diverse and more detailed case studies into coastal tourism development planning and management (Wesley & Pforr, 2010). These real-life cases can help demonstrate the usefulness of SES. We suggest that using stakeholder analysis helps understand governance arrangements better, as it illuminates the action arena within these arrangements by revealing each actor's positions, interests, and how they interact with others (Ostrom, 2011).

Data and methods for our case study

We used stakeholder analysis to identify the stakeholders, consider their interests, and to analyze whether their inter-relationships were conflictual, complementary, or based on cooperation. Reed et al. (2009) described stakeholder analysis as a process that identifies the individuals, groups and organizations (including future generations and non-human and non-living entities) who are affected by or can affect a decision, action or part thereof. We used stakeholder analysis because it identifies who the stakeholders are, what their interests are, who has the power to influence what happens, and how the stakeholders interact.

Stakeholder analysis has increasingly been used in many different fields and for an increasing variety of purposes (Reed et al., 2009). From its original application in the field of strategic management (Freeman, 1984), it is now widely used in the fields of policy studies, development studies and natural resource management (Dare, Schirmer, & Vanclay, 2014; Prell et al., 2009; Reed et al., 2009). Stakeholder analysis has often been used in tourism research, especially in relation to sustainable tourism development (Currie, Seaton, & Wesley, 2009; Waligo, Clarke, & Hawkins, 2013). To understand the shared objectives between tourism development and landscape protection, we emphasize the importance of involving all stakeholders. We believe that, in a tourism context, stakeholder analyses that focus solely on the tourism industry are inadequate. A tourism destination is more than just economic activity (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006); the social (King et al., 1993; McCombes et al., 2015) and environmental aspects (Buckley, 2012; Saarinen, 2006) must also be taken into account. Therefore, we are interested in the multitude of different stakeholders that are involved in the management of T&L in coastal areas, ranging from tourism entrepreneurs, policy-makers, environmental groups, interests groups, and civil society.

There are numerous methods available for analyzing stakeholders and understanding their inter-relationships. We utilized the three steps nominated by Reed et al. (2009): (1) identify the stakeholders; (2) categorize them; and (3) investigate the relationships between them. To identify the stakeholders involved in the decision-making processes on Terschelling, we used a snowballing

process as part of the interviews conducted by the lead researcher. To establish the appropriate (number of) stakeholders for any specific analysis is difficult (Eagles, McCool, & Haynes, 2002). To address these difficulties, interviews were used to help scope the stakeholders to be included. Starting from people in our networks, the initial interviews were conducted in early 2015 with well-connected local identities and people knowledgeable about Terschelling or the Dutch Wadden area generally. In the initial eight interviews (which ranged from 60 to 120 min each), a total of some 30 or so stakeholders were identified.

The categorization of these stakeholders was done in August 2016 by a panel comprising tourism researchers from the European Tourism Futures Institute at Stenden University in Leeuwarden, the Netherlands, all of whom were highly knowledgeable about Terschelling. Using a card sorting technique, the panel was asked to discuss and position the identified stakeholders on an interest–influence matrix (Reed et al., 2009, discussed below). This matrix comprises four categories: Key Players, Context Setters, Subjects, and the Crowd. These categories are based on the combination of the amount of interest in and influence the stakeholders have in terms of T&L issues. “Key Players” are those stakeholders who have both a high interest in and high influence over tourism. “Context Setters” are highly influential, but only have little interest. “Subjects” have high interest, but only low influence. They need to form alliances with other stakeholders in order to become more influential. The “Crowd” has little interest and little influence. Each category is depicted by a quadrant in the interest–influence matrix. From a theoretical point of view, the strategies used by a stakeholder should vary according to the category in which they are located.

In order to categorize the stakeholders on Terschelling, the panel was given a set of cards, in random order, on which each identified stakeholder was named. The researchers collectively discussed which quadrant each stakeholder should be best placed and why. The categorization process was audio-recorded and transcribed. This resulted in an interest–influence matrix, which provided an overview of the stakeholders involved in decision-making on Terschelling.

The interrelations between the stakeholders were assessed by a thorough re-analysis of the original eight interviews, augmented by an additional six interviews. For the extra interviews, which were done in September 2016, the interest–influence matrix was used to focus discussion specifically on the interactions between stakeholders. Overall, the 14 interviews (12 men, 2 women) included tourism entrepreneurs, policy-makers, and representatives of environmental interest groups and civil society. Given the nature and topics of the discussion, after 14 interviews, it was considered that saturation had been reached.

The interviews were conducted in a manner consistent with ethical social research principles (Vanclay, Baines, & Taylor, 2013). Prior to the interview, the respondent was provided with a research information sheet and was asked to complete an informed consent form that covered issues of anonymity, the use of the research, and their rights during and after the interview. With the permission of each respondent, the interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were coded and analyzed using the qualitative data software, Atlas.ti (version 7.5.10). A priori coding was undertaken with the codes having been derived from our theoretical positioning, especially the principles of inclusiveness, more flexible social arrangements, and multi-scalarity.

The interviews were conducted in Dutch. The transcripts and analysis were done in Dutch. Extracts for this paper were selected and then translated into English by the authors. To preserve the intention and meaning implicit in the Dutch statements, rather than a verbatim, literal translation, some of the excerpts have been modified to ensure that a reader in English comprehends the intended meaning of the statement. We believe we have faithfully represented the essence of the interview in the way the extracts have been translated.

There were some limitations to our methods. For example, we were not able to interview all the stakeholders identified and categorized in the matrix. In addition, the key informants we interviewed often represented an organization – and interviewing a different informant within that organization might have given a different perspective. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, our methods were helpful in providing an illustration of the interactions between stakeholders and different groups of stakeholders.

Case-study description

We examine, at different levels, the governance structure and processes that are in place on Terschelling, an island in the Dutch Wadden region (see [Figure 1](#)). We specifically consider the management of tourism–landscape interactions on the island. The Wadden is a natural coastal area that has considerable biodiversity and highly valued landscapes (Kabat et al., 2012). These natural qualities led to the area being designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2009 (Kabat et al., 2012), although amongst some controversy (van der Aa, Groote, & Huigen, 2004). Because of its natural qualities, the Wadden is one of the most popular tourism destinations in the Netherlands (Revier, 2013; Sijtsma, Daams, Farjon, & Buijs, 2012). Tourism to the Wadden islands originally started about 100 years ago. After the Second World War, tourism steadily increased, becoming an important economic activity on the islands (Sijtsma, Broersma, Daams, Hoekstra, & Werner, 2015).

The Wadden can be differentiated into three distinct areas, each with different interactions between tourism and landscape. One area is the Wadden Sea, a tidal mudflat and saltmarsh area that is of considerable ecological importance. Here, a limited amount of tourism activities take place such as recreational sailing, seal viewing excursions, and walking on the mudflats (*wadlopen*), a highly popular activity. The second area is the mainland coastal strip adjacent to the Wadden Sea. Here, tourism remains largely under-developed and agriculture is the dominant economic activity. The third area comprises the barrier islands that protect the Wadden Sea from the North Sea. The five main islands of the Dutch Wadden have developed as popular holiday destinations. In this paper, we specifically focus on the tourism–landscape interactions on the island of Terschelling.

Terschelling comprises a variety of landscape types, including dunes, beaches, forests, meadows, salt marches, and tidal mudflats. The various qualities of these different landscape types make the island very attractive for tourists. Consequently, over the past century, tourism has developed into a well-established industry and currently tourism is the most important source of employment on the island (Sijtsma et al., 2015). In 2017, Terschelling had 4856 inhabitants, about half of whom live in the



Figure 1. Map of the Dutch Wadden showing the location of Terschelling.

largest town, West-Terschelling, with the remainder spread across nine other villages (CBS Statline, 2017). Terschelling also experiences an annual tourism visitation of around 400,000 tourist arrivals and 1.8 million overnight stays (Municipality of Terschelling, 2014). With a land area of only 86 km², there is considerable pressure on its social and ecological carrying capacity. Since the 1950s, there has been a growing demand for accommodation and services to cater for all the tourists. These developments have had negative impacts on the landscape.

Over the last few decades, various national and international laws, regulations and guidelines – including the Bird Directive (1979), Habitat Directive (1992) and Natura 2000 (1992) – have greatly increased the protection of the flora, fauna and ecological state of the area. This increasing regulatory control means that many proposals for socio-economic development have been hindered (Hartman & de Roo, 2013). The twin goals of protecting the island's nature and landscape, and enabling socio-economic development by means of tourism, are heavily debated on the island. There are many stakeholders involved in the governance of T&L at different levels, many of whom have differing and potentially conflicting interests, including tourism entrepreneurs, nature protection organizations, interests groups, governmental bodies and civil society.

Identification and categorization of stakeholders (Results Part 1)

Figure 2 reveals how our panel categorized the identified stakeholders in terms of the interest–influence matrix. It is evident that most tourism entrepreneurs were clustered together in the matrix (see Figure 2 top-left). This observation is supported by what respondents stated in the interviews (e.g. Interviews 9 and 11) – that Terschelling is a relatively small island and that most entrepreneurs are well connected to each other and sometimes transfer business to each other (Interview 9).

Figure 2 also shows that most public institutions form a cluster (across the middle). Within this cluster, the Municipality of Terschelling and the national forest management agency, *Staatsbosbeheer* (SBB), were considered to be the most influential stakeholders on the island, a finding that was confirmed in the interviews (Interviews 1 and 8). Although other clusters could potentially be created, these two clusters (entrepreneurs and public institutions) were seen by the panel members as being important, especially because these two clusters were seen as separate worlds that did not connect with each other. However, a more nuanced picture emerges when the interactions between these two groups are examined closely, which we discuss below.

Interactions between stakeholders (Results Part 2)

To analyze the interactions between the stakeholders, we specifically looked at the three principles of governance we identified from SES theory: inclusiveness, flexibility and multi-scalarity.

Inclusiveness

It was evident from the interviews that many stakeholders were involved in decision-making processes regarding tourism development on Terschelling. Nevertheless, we also observed that there were some stakeholders who were or felt, to some extent, left out. For example, some camping-ground owners on Terschelling thought that their views should be taken into consideration more, and that they were not really involved in decision-making processes, which was frustrating for them (Interview 13). Also, many farmers thought that they were not involved much in these processes, perhaps because they were less interested in tourism development. Nevertheless, some stakeholders considered that there was greater potential for farmers to link with the tourism sector (Interview 11). Instead of intensifying their agricultural businesses, as was happening on the mainland, it was proposed that the island farmers should engage in small-scale organic farming and the selling of local products to tourists (Interviews 11 and 14). The interviewees said this would include the farmers more and would be a better fit with the place-branding characteristics of the island they were trying to promote, which they considered were its small size and its balance with nature.

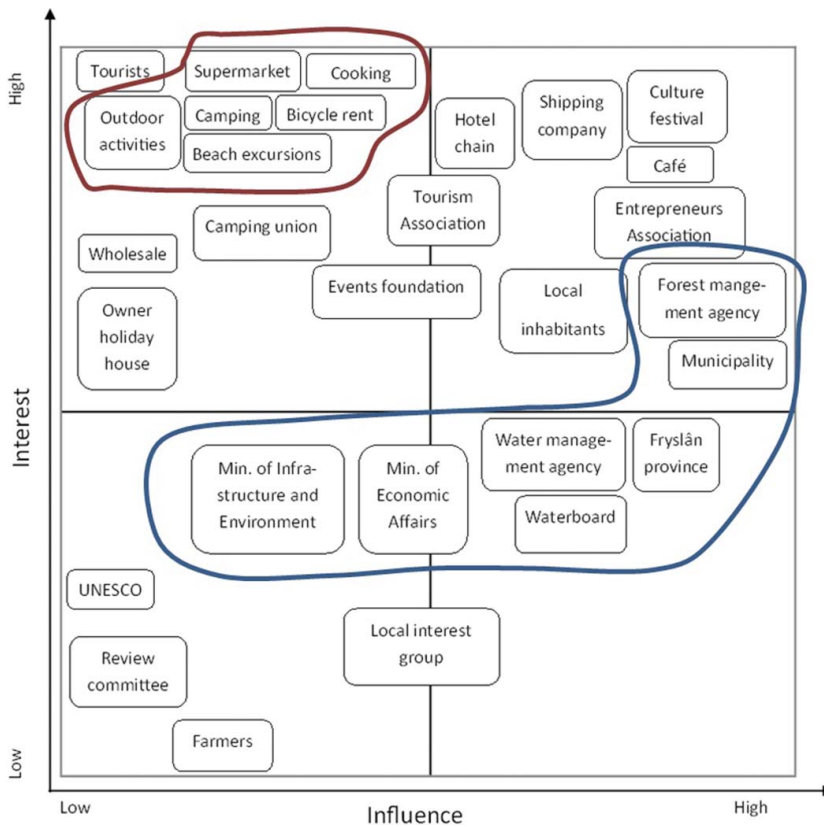


Figure 2. Interest–influence matrix for Terschelling.

To stimulate more inclusion, the municipality has been attempting to get stakeholders involved by organizing discussion groups to consider future developments (Interview 9). However, there was some doubt whether this was tokenistic (and perceived to be a mandatory requirement), rather than being a genuine intention to engage with local people (Interview 10). Also, some interviewees observed that the other influential stakeholder, the forest management agency (SBB), was increasingly including stakeholders in its decision-making processes by sharing and explaining their plans in an open and public way.

This has resulted in that, almost every year, we have an evening in the pub with SBB, where they explain what they are planning to do. Consequently, they get our support and we appreciate what they do much better. They don't talk about *their* forest anymore, but about *our* forest, and that is how we feel as well. (Interview 11)

Communication is an important component in the effective inclusion of stakeholders (Dare et al., 2014). It was stated that both Key Players on the island (i.e. SBB and the municipality) have recently improved their communication with other stakeholders (Interview 9). While their previous communication practices were considered to be problematic, nowadays SBB was considered to clearly communicate and discuss its intended plans. As a result, they find more support and appreciation for what they are doing.

Flexibility

Developments on Terschelling have been highly regulated since the 1970s (Interviews 2 and 4). However, there were some examples that showed how there can be flexibility as well. In terms of the

flexibility of regulation, we observed a difference between those tourism activities having a temporal character and those developments that were more permanent, such as real estate and infrastructure. Activities with a temporal character – such as annual festivals, outdoor activities, seal excursions, and beach excursions – were seen as providing opportunities for development (Interviews 7 and 9). While these activities were considered to be impossible 10–15 years ago (because of the regulatory regime), the interviewees mentioned there have been changes in the management style of SBB. Before these changes, SBB was considered to have had a stubborn attitude, making it almost impossible to negotiate about anything (Interviews 1, 2, 12). One interviewee (an employee of SBB) indicated that SBB nowadays gets into dialogue with tourism entrepreneurs to explore the kinds of activities they want to conduct and to consider under which conditions this could be possible without creating impacts on the landscape: “So, from ‘No, *unless*’ to ‘Yes, *provided that*’. We [SBB] look at things differently now, which means that we are less likely to wind up in conflict, and we have more real conversations” (Interview 6).

Some interviewees (Interviews 6 and 10) stated that this changing role of SBB can be explained by three factors. First, on a national level, the organization changed its policy to be more “public friendly” and towards one in which communication with stakeholders was considered to be important. Second, on the local level, there were some cultural changes between different generations of local staff of SBB on Terschelling. Third, these changes within the organizational culture of SBB were promulgated by a large budget cut from the national government about 10 years ago. To cope with this cut, SBB had to reinvent itself and had to find other financial sources, which made it much more outward looking. These three reasons led to more dialogue with other stakeholders about possibilities for developing initiatives, instead of SBB telling other stakeholders what was best for the island and what can and cannot be done.

In contrast to these examples relating to temporal activities, there were no examples of flexibility in relation to developments of a permanent character reported to us. This indicates that there are difficulties in the flexibility of the policies. At the local level, in its detailed land-use plans, the Municipality of Terschelling outlines what land uses are permitted on the island and what is not. Camping-ground operators, for example, are entrepreneurs who are subject to these rules and regulations. While these entrepreneurs acknowledged and understood that these rules exist for good reason, they often asked for flexibility to be able to innovate. Some entrepreneurs argued that the tourism market is very fickle, because tourists’ preferences are continuously changing, and that to meet changing demands, innovation is continuously required (Interview 4). Camping-ground operators indicated that they wanted to cope with changing demands by implementing quality improvements and improving sustainability aspects of their operations. However, they felt that they were often hindered by the current regulations (Interview 13).

The municipality should not always try to regulate everything, but they need to cooperate with us and not hinder us. We are already sufficiently constrained by regulation from higher government levels. (Interview 13)

The interviewees stated that the Municipality of Terschelling tends to play it safe when it comes to innovative and creative ideas. Some argued that this was because the municipality lacked a clear vision of future development on the island and they see tourism in only a very simplistic way (Interview 12).

What worries me is that the municipality puts everything on hold. It does not dare to take responsibility, does not dare to take any risk, and keeps everything out. It is performing a sort of ‘village politics’, without any vision on where we should go, what we value, and what we should do. (Interview 12)

Respondents argued that the Municipality of Terschelling was incapable of managing the issues on the island. Because the Wadden area is highly regulated at higher government levels, the municipality has a heavy workload, and therefore its staff do not have the time to fully grasp the full meaning of all the policy documents (Interview 10). There was a tendency for the municipality not to take any risks and to leave things as they are, which is likely to hinder Terschelling’s full potential into the

future. Initiatives that are about the intersection of tourism development and landscape protection may fit with the island's character, but these intersections are difficult for the municipality to deal with, because it is not something that is standardized and consequently may be regarded as too risky (Interview 12). Respondents said that, due to this attitude, initiatives were often postponed for administrative reasons, and that eventually nothing happens. To break through such an impasse, one interviewee suggested that experimentation might be a solution. It was argued that some issues are just too complicated for the Municipality to fully grasp, but simply trying and executing a project can sometimes show the added value of a risky initiative and can help build trust between stakeholders (Interview 12).

Multi-scalarity

We found that many stakeholders on Terschelling were aware that they live in a world that is multi-scalar and that they were dependent on decisions made at higher scales of governance. Many entrepreneurs acknowledged that they "just have to deal with the regulations" from higher levels (Interview 9). However, the way these regulations were implemented by the local government causes dissent. Some stakeholders knew their rights very well and knew how to navigate in the multi-scalar governance system. There was an example of an entrepreneur who disagreed with a decision from the local government. Not satisfied, the entrepreneur pursued his claims and the case ended up at the Council of State, the highest court in the Netherlands (Interviews 9 and 10). In 2010, the entrepreneur won the court case and the municipality had to revise its decision. Interviewees said that, from then on, the municipality's fear of litigation was one reason why the municipality was very cautious in making decisions and was not very willing to support developments they considered to be risky.

For the long-term development of tourism, Terschelling is highly dependent on external actors. Many stakeholders expressed concern about the interference of external actors (i.e. anyone not from the island). For example, external investors, particularly real estate developers, were considered to be a threat because they were considered by some interviewees as having little concern for the local situation and only seeing the island as a site for commercial investment from which they can make a fast profit (Interview 12).

When you arrive on Terschelling by boat, you think, '*What a charming little harbour!*'. Why should that wonderful feeling be spoilt because some jerk thinks he can construct a high-rise building with lots of apartments and make millions of euros in a very short time and leave us with all the rubbish? (Interview 12)

Some respondents considered another external threat to be interference from mainland consultancy firms. Interviewees said that the municipality has an immense workload and therefore the municipality sometimes hired consulting firms to do various tasks, including social research. It was argued that the mainland firms do not know the local context very well and they often gave the wrong advice. The provincial aesthetics committee was also accused of ignoring and being ignorant of the local context (Interview 11). The aesthetics committee, which is based in Leeuwarden (the capital of the Province of Friesland), comprised architects and other professionals, none of whom were from Terschelling. The committee is charged with assessing building proposals to ensure they meet local aesthetic standards, but in the case of Terschelling, the committee lacked people with appropriate local knowledge. The interviewees said that these external threats can hinder benefit-sharing because, in their view, the benefits accrue to the external investors, while the negative impacts are incurred by the local communities.

Discussion

We believe all three steps in stakeholder analysis are needed to reveal the interactions within and between groups of stakeholders. The first two steps, identification and categorization, helped to show that entrepreneurs are clustered together in the governance structure. Furthermore, despite

the fact that they may be competitors, it was shown that they have strong links with each other. In the management literature, this is referred to as “coopetition” (Bengtsson & Kock, 2014). Despite being each other’s competitors, the success of each entrepreneur also requires success of the other entrepreneurs. For Terschelling, this means that getting tourists to the island is more important than to which establishment on the island the tourist goes.

The two steps also helped to observe the discrepancy between nature protection policies from public institutions at higher scales and socio-economic developments by tourism entrepreneurs at the local scale, as described by Paloniemi and Tikka (2008). This discrepancy is also considered by Reed et al. (2009), who classified the cluster of entrepreneurs as “Subjects” and the public institutions as “Key Players” and “Context Setters”. Subjects, or in our example tourism entrepreneurs, need to establish stronger links and alliances with the public institutions.

The third step, assessing the interactions between stakeholders, is the step we consider most important because it provides complementary qualitative in-depth insights about the interactions. In contrast to the discrepancy described above, this step showed that entrepreneurs and the public institutions were linked quite well, and many stakeholders were involved in decision-making through boards, associations and networks. The three steps of stakeholder analysis, when taken together, help to provide an overview of the stakeholders involved in governance processes and how they interact with each other.

The example of SBB showed that the role of large land owners is crucial in influencing developments in a region. SBB is considered to be a Key Player and how it fulfils its role partially determines the way other stakeholders interact with each other and the benefits that are shared with these stakeholders. The example of the changing role of SBB showed that a large land owner managing a nature area in a stubborn and authoritarian way would be ineffective. Investing in community relations and effective communication, together with an organizational culture change, helped SBB improve the local community’s understanding of and support for nature protection and the way they manage the island. This changing role reflects what Eagles (2014) found in the Ontario Provincial Park in Canada. Here, a shift in funding park management from government sources to user-pays operations led to more open-mindedness regarding citizen and client concerns.

We showed that inclusion of stakeholders in decision-making processes is an important condition for benefit-sharing from tourism. Involving all stakeholders is vital for collaboration between stakeholders, because whenever a stakeholder is, or feels, ignored, this could lead to frustration and a lack of willingness to participate. This reflects the idea that collaboration helps avoid conflict (Bramwell & Lane, 2011; Jamal & Stronza, 2009). What was not discussed above was that the inclusion of stakeholders in governance processes is one way to keep the communication lines between different stakeholders open. The case of Terschelling showed that communication between the tourism entrepreneurs and the forest management agency is now perceived to be much better than in the past. Improving collaboration and communication between stakeholders can create mutual understanding and are important preconditions for facilitating benefit-sharing.

Flexibility in decision-making at the local level was considered to be an important factor in facilitating benefit-sharing from tourism in protected areas. Providing flexibility by allowing temporal activities under certain conditions can help explore the possibilities for benefit-sharing in relation to tourism and landscape management. Despite the fact that Terschelling has been highly regulated since the 1970s, flexibility in what was permitted was perceived to be increasing. The interviewees stated that influential stakeholders, such as SBB and the Municipality of Terschelling, played an important role in facilitating this flexibility. Nevertheless, these stakeholders remained hesitant in providing flexibility with regard to developments of a more permanent character. Some interviewees mentioned that this lack of flexibility was problematic, because it made Terschelling vulnerable as a tourism destination in the longer term. Tourism is a sector that changes rapidly, because the demands of tourists are fickle. A tourism destination needs to be flexible and adaptive to be able to cope with changing demands. Wherever a tourism destination is unable to innovate, it runs the risk that tourists will desert it for other places. Not being able to cope with these changes may mean that

many (local) stakeholders would miss out on the benefits that might flow from tourism. This makes Terschelling, which is highly dependent on tourism, particularly vulnerable.

We observed that the Municipality of Terschelling struggled to cope, due to the combination of strict and complicated regulations regarding nature protection imposed by the national government (a Context Setter) and because of its limited resources. The interviewees stated that the municipality had difficulties in making clear decisions, tended to avoid risky plans and ideas, and generally “played it safe”. This constrained other stakeholders in accomplishing their initiatives and thereby to benefit from tourism. Given these difficulties, the local government is limited in its capacity to fulfil its role as a facilitator of benefit-sharing.

Conclusion

We revealed how the relationships between stakeholders enable and/or constrain the sharing of benefits from tourism in protected areas. The ability to develop synergetic interactions between stakeholders involved in governance processes is likely to be a prerequisite for the effective achievement of benefit-sharing. However, some constraining factors are the lack of capacity of the local government and its ability to cope with future changes. Despite regulations being imposed from above, the way they are interpreted at lower levels is important because this is where most of the opportunities for benefit-sharing lie. We saw that where local government lacks the resources to deal with issues that may foster synergies, it tends to be risk-averse in its decision-making. Consequently, initiatives that could foster benefit-sharing are postponed or obstructed. This means that possibilities for benefit-sharing are often restricted at the lower levels as well as by national and international regulation.

Another constraining factor can be the way an influential stakeholder has interacted with other stakeholders in the past. In our case, the recent positive change in organizational culture within the national forest management agency had implications for the whole island in facilitating benefit-sharing from tourism. How this agency will continue to deal with different stakeholder interests will largely determine the future course of the island. We found that effective communication and an attitude of openness towards all stakeholders were important conditions in facilitating benefit-sharing.

By providing a means to consider the issues faced by all stakeholders, the technique of stakeholder analysis helps to identify the enabling and constraining factors. It helps to systematically provide an overview of who the important stakeholders are, and how they can be categorized. Furthermore, stakeholder analysis provides useful insights into the way stakeholders interact with each other. Using stakeholder analysis as a method also contributes to better understanding governance processes that could help facilitate benefit-sharing from tourism in protected areas.

Governance has recently emerged as a better way of understanding and managing tourism–landscape interactions. We drew on insights from SES theory, in which governance is a key concept. The benefit of using this approach is that SES considers the social and the ecological as an integrated whole, which is helpful for acknowledging synergetic interactions between tourism and landscape. In this paper, we considered three principles: inclusiveness, flexibility and multi-scalarity, and we discussed the way they allow or constrain benefit-sharing between tourism and protected areas. These principles are valuable in providing a deeper understanding of the governance of the interactions between tourism and landscape management.

Based on our research, we have three main recommendations for policy-makers. First, the interest–influence matrix will assist policy-makers to identify and categorize stakeholders. Use of the matrix could be helpful in making strategic choices about how to deal with each type of stakeholder. Second, stakeholder analysis that includes a multitude of different types of stakeholders is a valuable tool to provide an overview that shows which interactions between stakeholders are facilitating and which have limiting effects for benefit-sharing. Third, stakeholder analysis helps policy-makers to intervene more effectively by raising their awareness of the facilitative potential of certain interactions. We hope that with an enhanced understanding of governance processes, policy-makers and landscape managers will be able to increase the potential for benefit-sharing from tourism in protected areas.

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